

PEACE NEWS

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Salvation or Further Enslavement?

AS the war pursues its ravenous course, the outlines of a new Slavery become increasingly clear.

We now realize that modern wars are wars of steel, since they arise from a civilization which pivots on steel. That is why they are total wars.

The decisive factor in present-day warfare is the amount of steel that can be thrown into it. But weight of steel depends upon manpower, firstly, for its production, and secondly, in order to hurl it upon the enemy, upon his cities, his engineering works and his man-power.

Given steel and man-power, propaganda can provide the arguments, the emotion and enthusiasm necessary to victory. Each combatant calculates victory by counting heads and tons of steel.

Population and vital raw materials have now become paramount issues in world politics and are giving a new impulse to imperialism. There was more than meets the eye in Mr. Churchill's declaration: "We mean to hold our own."

Britain started the war with many good intentions, one of which was, according to the Left, to end imperialism. But as the implications of the war become clearer, the case for imperialism grows so strong that both Labour and Communism openly defend it. That defence is accompanied by loud demands for the social and political advancement of native races, even while native labour is being conscripted for the benefit of white planters and employers in Kenya and elsewhere, with mild expressions of concern from the Labour benches!

The Basic Factor

The control of vast resources of man-power and vital raw materials of war has become a basic necessity of every great Power. That issue will be the dominating factor at the next Peace Conference, no matter when or where it takes place.

Ten years ago Hitler began to make his war calculations on the basis of steel and babies. The British Government is now doing the same. Britain's 44,000,000 population and her numerous factories spell domination forty years ago, but today, in a world of great States run on steel, a very different outlook is presented.

The recently reported rise in the birth-rate for the first quarter of this year has been hailed with rejoicing in many quarters, although the chief reasons for it are well known. The demand for babies is going to be by far the most effective agency for achieving social reform.

On July 10 the Daily Herald headed its leading article: "Babies." It was a muddled article since it pleaded for permanent peace in order to acquire babies, and for more babies in order to be prepared for war. It gave three reasons for the small families of today: lack of economic security, class inequalities in education, and the fear of war, and then pleaded for more babies on the ground that the world needed "those qualities which are native to the British," qualities which Britain manifested when she declared war on Germany in Sept., 1939, and thereby "saved civilization."

But unfortunately Britain "saved civilization" in World War I, only to aggravate all the evils within it by the use she made of the victory.

Big Business Moves

The Daily Herald knows quite well that there is no evidence of a change of heart in British financial and

by **WILFRED**

WELLOCK

business circles which warrants belief in a really sane peace.

The representatives of Big Business have their hands on all the production and distribution controls, and are adding to their business knowledge that of the technique of Government control of monopoly production and distribution and of inter-State trading. Moreover every observant person knows that "private enterprise" is preparing to capture all those controls when the war ends, and (with an eye on Russia, Japan, Germany, and the United States) whatever economic advantage the peace situation places within its reach.

In the United States, high-sounding political declarations are being countered by the tactics and policies of Big Business, whose influence grows as the war advances. Also, it looks as though the Government of the USA, fearing the spread of Communism, is planning to ensure the triumph of the Right in Europe. Its attitude to the Giraud-de Gaulle conflict may be symptomatic.

The peoples of the East, including those of China and India, distrust the

Western Powers. Pearl Buck, who knows the East as well as she knows the West, stated in New York recently that they are farther from us today than they have been at any time since the war began, and are awakening to the fact that if they are ever to be free they must win their freedom for themselves.

We are being told that this is America's century, that it is now America's turn to dominate the world, or to direct its course. Is it not too much to expect that in a world still governed by power politics, American Big Business at the close of Britain's century will decline to take advantage of its new "inheritance"?

What of Civilization?

In the meantime the United Nations are blasting their way to victory in the Far and Near East and in Europe. The pounding of Europe, the breaking up of her ports and the smashing of her cities will never be forgotten. It marks a new era in organized terrorism and devastation. Who can measure its moral and spiritual effects, upon ourselves, and upon the future of civilization, especially if the promises in the name of which it is being done are not kept? What a terrible responsibility rests upon this country, therefore! What heights of spiritual exaltation are being presumed at the base from which the victorious Powers will direct their policy? But, as I read history, spiritual exaltation and the

END AND MEANS

A FORTNIGHT ago I quoted the suggestion of a supporter of the Peace News Fighting Fund that socials, bazaars, dances, etc., would be as good a way of raising money for the Fund as they proved in clearing the debt on Dick Sheppard House.

A member of the Oldbury (nr. Birmingham) PPU group now tells me that on his initiative (inspired by his first attendance at the AGM, in May) a social and dance was held at Warley Institutional Church on Jul. 10; he sends me the proceeds—£3—for the Fund.

There are something like 600 distributors of Peace News—most of them members of pacifist groups. If, say, one third of those groups would arrange similarly pleasurable and profitable events by the end of the year, the Fund would be certain to reach its immediate objective of £5,000.

Contributions from Jul. 19-31: £15 1s. 1d. Total to date: £4,723 9s. 7d.

THE EDITOR

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frightfulness of a blasting war do not go together. Is this country quite sure that it is not fiddling while Rome burns? A graver responsibility is ours than we dream.

One final word: a steel war, brought on by unrepented power politics must lead to a steel peace, to a competitive use of war-created machinery which will end in totalitarian industrial slavery.

Italy's Revolution and the Allies

WHICH kind of considerations are to weigh heaviest in estimating the complicated, crucial and passionately interesting situation which has arisen as the result of the Allied military success in Sicily and the consequent fall of Mussolini—the military or the political? By all odds the political. It is the peculiarity and novelty of totalitarian war that once the totalitarian military front begins to crack, the situation immediately becomes revolutionary in the political sense. Gear the whole energies of a nation to the purposes of aggressive war, and there is nothing substantial left to take the strain of defeat.

Military Liability

BUT before passing to the political point of view, it is perhaps worth while to remember that from the abstract military angle the situation is not quite so rosy as the man in the street feels (and I think rightly feels) it is. He feels that the ignominious fall of Mussolini is an event much more significant than the military situation which was the occasion, rather than the cause of his fall. But the purely military observer would probably endorse the opinion of The Economist (July 31):

"If the Germans are still the masters of North Italy, what has Italy to offer the Allies? The Italian mainland below the Po is a liability, not an asset. It can hardly be used for operations against Germany, and only small portions are useful for operations aimed elsewhere. If occupied, it must be fed and fuelled—the Labour Director is already talking of the 5 or 6 million tons which will be needed by British mines to keep Italy going. The military prospect seems on the whole so unattractive that one may well ask whether the Germans have not hoped to use the disappearance of Mussolini as a bait to involve the Allies in a

PACIFIST COMMENTARY EDITED BY "OBSERVER"

complicated and fruitless occupation of the strategically useless part of the Italian peninsula."

Military Questions Not All

"**THESE** are questions which the layman cannot decide (continues The Economist); but it can be said with great vigour, that only considerations such as these should determine the Allies' policy." There for once The Economist is clean off the mark, though probably it does not mean precisely what it says. Purely military considerations dictated the German decision not to help Mussolini defend Southern Italy. But the political consequences of that decision are fatal to Germany! And if the Allies were to attempt to disregard them—as they will do, since Mr. Churchill is out of his depth in a revolutionary situation—they will not be able to do it for long. To shape a policy on purely military considerations just now would be plain madness.

Italy's Military Useless?

BUT probably The Economist, in saying that only considerations of military strategy should determine "the Allies' policy," is referring to their immediate war-policy, rather than to their ultimate political policy. At any rate, the purely military war has a long time to run yet: even if Italy surrenders, Germany is very far from doing so. The Allies must therefore consider the strategic situation that would result from occupying Italy in framing the policy by which they propose to defeat Germany.

If the problems of feeding and

fuelling a strategically useless territory are great, they may well be considered too great if the people in that territory are going to be unhelpful, even if unwilling (as well as powerless) seriously to hinder the war against Germany. "The layman cannot decide," but Liddell Hart (D. Mail, Aug. 3) declares that we are faced with a dilemma here:

"On the one hand, it is clear that the greatest asset we have in easing the path of our advance lies in the anti-Fascist and anti-Nazi feeling of the mass of the Italian people, but it is no less clear that this feeling is due mainly to the fact that they are sick of war. Most of them are eager for the restoration of peace, but not to participate in a crusade for the restitution of Europe that would entail continued war with a change of sides."

"When, in war, the opponents are beginning to wilt, a rigid demand for unconditional surrender has a natural tendency to stiffen their resistance, and may even cement an incipient crack. This elementary truth was pointed out in the first classic work on the art of war, that of the Chinese master strategist, Sun Tzu, in 500 B.C."

Yet the same paper described as "a new idea" Italy's declared intention to fight now for "Country, not Party," while alternative attempts to seek peace on condition of neutrality have been scorned. Even my colleague, the leader-writer, thinks that pacifists would be foolish to proclaim "this elementary truth" now.

Leftward Movement

PERHAPS the most useful precedent we can have in mind for the present kind of situation is that of the Russian collapse in 1917; and we may be reasonably certain that the situation in Italy will move pretty rapidly Leftwards; and the German hope of being able to hold northern, that is industrial Italy, will be frustrated by revolutionary movements in the great industrial cities. As the Observer (Aug. 1) puts it:

"As so often happens with interim revolutionary Governments Badoglio's

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No Negotiation Now

THE sudden fall of Mussolini has plunged the Western Allies, apparently unprepared, into a vortex of immensely complicated political and moral problems: concerning which—it behoves us to note—pacifism, as such, has very little to say. It would, for example, in the present situation, be illegitimate for pacifists to argue that, because peace is the supreme objective for them, they should press the Allies to negotiate with anybody. If the Italians sue for an armistice it is obvious that the Allies will be responsive. They will conclude an armistice with whatever authority happens to be in effective command of the Italian army. They will probably be overjoyed to find that such an authority exists: for the manifest danger is that the Italian army and the Italian civil government may simply disintegrate. We may reasonably conclude that the quicker the armistice, the better the Allies will be pleased. For the task of supplying and administering an Italy in chaos will be about the last with which they wish to burden themselves just now.

And pacifists, we think, would do well not to make themselves foolish by pressing abstract demands. In Italy's present condition there is nothing harsh or untoward in the purely military demand for "unconditional surrender" as the condition of an armistice. The real danger is that the Allies, through their anxiety that Italy should give them the minimum of trouble at a very precarious moment, may put the military authority with whom they conclude the armistice in a position of effective dictatorship over the Italian people, from which it will be difficult to dislodge them except by civil war. The problem is infinitely delicate. Nevertheless, it would be lamentable if the British Parliament permitted it to be handled by Mr. Churchill, acting in secret and alone. Perhaps it is unfair to impute to Mr. Churchill the desire to do so. But here is a matter so crucial for the future of Europe and the world that the British Parliament must have a decisive voice in it. It is no remedy to turn Mr. Churchill out after the blunder has been made. The plain truth is that King Victor and Badoglio are as deeply compromised as Mussolini himself. If they can get away with it, then there is no reason why the peoples of Europe should not suppose that Fascist régimes everywhere will get away with it. The German High Command will straightway set about preparing its own palace-revolution. If that also were accepted by the Allies, it would be a major political disaster. The virtual identification of the German State with the German Army has been the curse of latter-day Europe.

That the Allies should so behave as to enable the Germans, once for all, completely to dissociate the German State from the German army may not be the primary concern of pacifists; but it seems to us that it must be a very real secondary concern with them. The full doctrine of pacifism has no earthly chance of acceptance at this stage of the European proceedings. It is important therefore that we should distinguish between a negotiated peace and a negotiated armistice. The chances of the latter are utterly remote, anyhow. What we should realize is that there is no necessary contradiction between an armistice based on "unconditional surrender" and a subsequent peace by negotiation. And there is some chance that in pressing for the latter, and for the recognition of truly representative governments with which peace can be honestly negotiated, we shall have a majority of Britons on our side. But that Parliament should be induced to leave this vital matter to Mr. Churchill would be, we are sure, the suicide of British democracy.

THE ENIGMA OF INDIA

WHETHER or not John Hoyland wholly intended it, his absorbing book, "Indian Crisis" (Allen and Unwin: 6s. net) leaves the reader with the conviction that the basic facts of India are only two: poverty and religion.

They are equally profound. The Marxist would say they hang together. "Religion is the poor folks' laudanum." Mr. Hoyland himself makes evident the connexion between them.

"Something else remains, at the back of all the external trappings of Hindu religion, the unconquerable belief, deep in the heart of the Indian people, that as a soul sows, so shall it reap, and that to reap it must return. There is probably no possibility of over-stating the reactionary influence of this fundamental Hindu belief. It justifies social privilege, luxury, oppression: for it is used to interpret privilege as the result of good action in a former life: luxury as the same: and the misery of the oppressed as due to their wrongdoing heretofore. There is no chance of social justice being done in India, on anything like a scale adequate to deal with the problem of Indian poverty, till the people as a whole cease to believe in the doctrine of return. . . . In many lands corrupt religion has been the opium of the common people, but here what has to be combated is not so much religion as a fundamental world-doctrine, held alike by the profoundest philosophers and the simplest peasants."

It is notable that Mr. Hoyland should amend Marx's dictum. Marx did not say "corrupt religion"; he said "religion." Yet Marxism is itself a religion.

However, there are religions and

by John
Middleton Murry

religions. Mr. Hoyland himself has an unusually soft spot for Islam.

"The greatest of all Islamic gifts to India and the body-politic of humanity is the object-lesson which the House of Islam (the whole Islamic world) offers, in the power of religion to transcend all barriers of race, colour, caste or nationality. This is what Christianity should do, and does not do. All honour, in this regard, to the Moslems: and may we swiftly begin to learn from them."

Driving in a Wedge

How monstrous then to accentuate the religious division between Moslem and Hindu by introducing in 1909 the principle of communal representation, whereby Moslems, Hindus, and others are grouped in separate electorates—"a plan which results in a steady embitterment of the relation between the communities, since only fanatical party men have in practice a chance of election." Mr. Hoyland quotes Mr. Lionel Curtis:

"The concession of communal representation was the greatest blunder ever committed by the British Government in India. So long as it remains, India will never attain to the unity of nationhood. The longer it remains the more difficult it will be to uproot it, till in the end it will only be eradicated at the cost of civil war. To enable India to attain nationhood is the trust imposed upon us, and in conceding the establishment of communal representation we have been false to that trust."

Mr. Lionel Curtis, apart from his authority on the particular problem,

makes a pertinent appearance: for he is distinguished among the political thinkers of our time by his insistence that politics must have a Christian basis, but that Christianity must be divorced from supernaturalism, and specifically, from the belief in the physical resurrection of Jesus.

Religion and Emancipation

Now, a synthesis between such an emancipated Christianity, and an emancipated Hinduism is conceivable. Some would say that Gandhi's own religion is itself such a synthesis. That is how Mr. Hoyland understands it. Gandhi (he says) "shows us how the East may re-interpret and re-apply the idealism of the Cross."

Nehru, on the other hand, says Mr. Hoyland, "is more than half in sympathy with the Russian conviction that religion is a dangerous false-issue." Here emerges a crucial problem. How is the grip of the fundamental Hindu religious belief to be loosened? If Nehru believes that religious emancipation is consequent upon economic emancipation, how is the economic emancipation to be achieved, except by the precarious—and in India peculiarly precarious—method of minority violence? If Nehru takes that position, how comes he to be allied with Gandhi? Here seems to be a radical contradiction, concealed by the political exigencies of the moment.

And what is Mr. Hoyland's own opinion on this vital matter? In spite of an unusual awareness of the underlying religious issues, he seems to combine adherence to Gandhi with adherence to Nehru. Thus, he suggests that emancipation will come by mass-education, and collectivization, and democracy. But why should democratic mass-education, in India, have the effect of religious emancipation? Marx's question is unanswered: "Who shall educate the educators?" Mr. Hoyland seems to be encouraging the Indians to raise themselves by their own bootstraps. Perhaps an Englishman can do no more.

Gandhi has a fairly complete and coherent social and religious philosophy. Nehru, so far as his philosophy is coherent, is a Communist; but there is a whole province wherein his philosophy is not coherent at all. Mr. Hoyland becomes more incoherent still, in trying to reconcile them. That is no criticism of himself or his book. It comes of his surpassing honesty, in reflecting the reality of India.

The Only Solution

But is it enough to accept pragmatically, the position that the Indians themselves must resolve their own contradictions? I think it must be enough. Gandhi has said that the consequences of the withdrawal of the British Raj may be anarchy. Mr. Hoyland's book more than confirms that. Short of a miracle, it would seem, the consequence must be anarchy: that civil war which Mr. Curtis prophesies, and for which he lays the blame directly upon the British Government. But the miracle is possible.

There is—so it appears to me on the evidence—only one way for the British Government to repair its crime against the nationhood of India: namely, to use the final period of its brief authority to insist upon the convocation of a constituent assembly, democratically elected; and for this purpose to employ the legal violence in which it believes, (1) to override the Treaty-rights of the Princes and (2) to abolish communal representation. Britain must make amends for its past by creating by its own fiat the national authority to whom it can honourably surrender control. Then let it surrender control forthwith. If the Indian National Government seeks, as it probably would, a defensive alliance with Britain—that may be all to the good.

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COMMENTARY

military-official junta has counter-signed its own ultimate dismissal order by eliminating the mechanism of the tyrannical power which it superseded."

We must not be under the illusion that this Leftward movement for peace by revolution will suit the book of the Allies. Gen. Eisenhower's untimely compliments to the House of Savoy, whose record in the between-war period is precisely the same as Mussolini's own, show how ardent is the hope of the American State Department to avert revolutionary movements in Europe by making terms with conservative-monarchical governments. The hope is reasonable enough in itself. Revolutions are always unpleasant things. But it is entirely unrealistic. Metternich does not repeat himself after the 19th century.

Illusory Prizes of War

IN all probability the stream of events in Europe will move in the Russian direction. That will compensate the Russians for the fact that, although they are still bearing the main brunt of the war, the first prizes of victory appear to have fallen into the hands of the Western Allies. But only in appearance. For if the Allies try to buttress conservative-monarchical governments, they will find that their energies are so fully employed that they will be unable to prosecute the war against Germany. Not that Hitler will get away with it in that case. But Russia will stage-manage the German revolution, which is the really important one.

Gap in Allied Policy

INEVITABLY, as the general situation moves towards its climacteric, the divergences between Russian policy and that of the Western allies become more marked.

"The fact that a Free Germany Committee has been set up in Moscow, without the prior knowledge of either the British or the American governments, proves that there is a dangerous vacuum in the United Nations' policy at its highest level. To judge from the Russian reticence on Amgot they, too, have been left out of the discussions of a major decision in Allied strategy. This is a very serious situation." (Economist, July 31).

That is certainly not an over-statement. Neither is the Moscow message to The Observer (Aug. 1) on later developments:

"The Soviet armies, it is felt here, have contributed towards bringing about the present situation in Italy in

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the same measure as have the British and U.S. forces, and the Soviet Union is just as much interested in any arrangements and undertakings—provisional or permanent—which may be made by the Western Allies, as the latter would be if a similar situation sprang up between the Soviet Union and Germany."

Agreement with Soviet?

IS there any possibility of real, sincere and permanent agreement between the Soviet Union and the Western Allies? It is difficult indeed to say. The fashion is to ride off from the real problem by saying that permanent agreement is possible because all three Powers have one overriding interest in common: the maintenance of world-peace. That is merely specious. Quite fundamental to Soviet thinking is an acceptance of the Marxist postulate that war is the inevitable outcome of Capitalism. The regnant ideology of the Western democracies is that war is the outcome of autocracy and militarism. There is an element of truth in both contentions; but how the particular exponents of the two theses are to find a common basis on which to build an acceptable reorganization of Europe is hard to see. For the Soviet Union is autocratic and militarist, with a difference, namely, a Socialist economy. And the Western democracies are capitalist with a difference, namely, their political democracy. As far as one can tell, they want to remain capitalist and they want to remain democracies.

Democratic Socialism

IN theory, the middle way is plain: democratic Socialism. But in practice it is not easy to find. Much of the Russian ideology has been built up on unlimited denunciation of Social Democracy. On the other hand British advance along that road is circumspect; that of USA positively dilatory. If the Americans are going to have the determining voice in the political set-up of Europe, it is not very likely that democratic socialism will receive much encouragement. Obviously, much the best thing would be for the three governments really to get together and, if humanly possible, reach a common policy. But to pretend that that is easy, or that it could be accomplished in the course of a day's talk between Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin is fantastic. It requires that "nation shall speak unto nation." But how that is to be arranged, I leave to wiser heads than mine to determine. All I can say is that this is indeed a revolutionary age, and that we are only at the beginning of the end of the first phase of it.

H.S.A. SMITH warns Pacifists of

The Dangers of Being Few

THE Government believes that it has found the ideal way of dealing with pacifism in this country. The pacifist minority is allowed almost unrestricted liberty on the assumption that, like all minorities, it will fall into the usual traps, so that the vast majority of the nation will refuse to take seriously anything said by pacifists.

Partly in order to avoid these traps, the study of the dangers confronting any minority is worth while; particularly since the PPU is just leaving the sheltered waters of a mainly anti-war policy, for a stormy voyage in search of positive ends. None the less, it is worth making it clear that many of the dangers to be described can be found more easily among other minorities than the pacifist.

First, then, the propaganda of minorities abounds in what soon appear as enormous exaggerations, rash statements backed with insufficient evidence, wild over-simplifications, the extravagance which naturally arises as a reaction to the maddening indifference of the mass-opinion. But, while it is true that majority support is no guarantee that an opinion is sound, it is not the case that all mass-opinions are bound to be wrong, or (by a further illogical step) that the minority opinion has any tendency to be right because only a few support it. As Socrates pointed out, one can refute majorities and minorities, one can refute Socrates himself; but truth is adamant and unaffected by the degree in which it is esteemed. Minorities have a way of spoiling their case by protesting too much, in an effort to break the stifling "crust of custom."

PROPAGANDA AND DEVELOPMENT

Small parties, furthermore, often make untimely efforts to impress the outside world, when any tactician of experience would direct the same energy to establishing a sounder jumping-off place, and to developing the power, cohesion, and capabilities which are as natural to a minority as are the dangers discussed here. Small movements have a way of taking it for granted that a large part of their activities should consist of proving their continued existence. It is not a far step from a too persistent programme of "campaigns" to an exhibitionism that merely saps the physical and psychological energy of any group that contracts the disease.

Moreover, minorities have another way of wasting their energy—in attempts, that seldom repay the effort, to gain new members. It is always a question for careful consideration how much energy should be spent on this in view of the advantages that are likely to result. A small increase of a small minority makes no impression on the outside world and is best left to the natural processes of change. Similarly, no great regret should be felt for a fall of membership, providing that

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The Man and the Mass

"If the sailor did not carry with him his own temperament he could not go from the Pole to the Equator and remain himself in spite of all. The man who has no refuge in himself, who lives, so to speak, in his front rooms, in the outer whirlwind of things and opinions, is not properly a personality at all; he is not distinct, free, original, a cause—in a word, someone. He is one of a crowd, a taxpayer, an elector, an anonymity—but not a man. He helps to make up the mass of human consumers or producers, but he interests nobody but the economist and statistician. The crowd counts only as a massive elementary force; because its constituent parts are individually insignificant. Such men are reckoned and weighed merely as so many bodies; they have never been individualized by conscience."

H. F. AMIEL, 1866.

the movement is not losing actually valuable members. If a minority develops internally, if it seeks and expresses the truth without too much concern for how that will be received by others, it will get the support and respect it deserves, and achieve an influence which has often no relation to the proportion its numbers bear to the total community.

THE minority must emphasize always its reliance on truth. It must not fall into the common trap of relying on a passionate fervour often mistakenly regarded as a substitute for the slower process of reasoning. It may be the case that, for the more extraordinary men, a zeal that can disregard logic is enough. But it is wise for most of us, even in a minority, to look on ourselves as quite ordinary and still in the grip of the laws of logic.

Minorities are particularly prone to seek to escape this grip in their too frequent surrender of a proper sense of responsibility. It is the privilege of a minority that it shall not be called on to put its proposals into effect. The most sweeping changes can be suggested; but it is presumably for the majority to execute them. At any rate the people who suggest them do not often do so on the understanding that they shall themselves carry them out.

Minorities tend to think on too big a scale.

PURPOSE OF MINORITIES

For members of minority groups have a way of being vastly contemptuous of majorities. Since the grapes of popular approval are sour anyway, there is something to be said for being "different." One result of this, however, is to emphasize and to make more irreconcilable the

division between the minority and the community as a whole.

But if minorities have any purpose, it is to serve the total community. And in many ways minorities are particularly fitted for this, and should have a strong sense of their duty on this point. It is a commonplace of the theory of democracy that the "opposition" is an essential part of a parliamentary system, that there should be a body of opinion expressing constructive criticism all the time. But minorities have positive means of service, too; all the great social reforms started from groups which were—and many of them still are—minorities.

FOR there are two great advantages possessed by small groups, and minorities would be well advised to make the most of them.

First, they have a freedom and flexibility denied to a large movement with its cumbersome organization and the need for satisfying a large membership, usually the more lethargic the greater the number. The minority is not bound by the normal run of contemporary thought; it can be adventurous, and usually obtains from its members a far more constant and thoughtful support than is the case with majorities. It can do new things, even if they have often to start on a very small scale.

Secondly, in a small group there is the possibility of the real community spirit, the vital contact between the individual and the whole, that makes the group much more than the sum of its members. The personal contributions of the individuals make the experience of the small group so much richer than that expressed in the most elaborate agenda prepared for a meeting of a comfortable majority.

The slogan for a minority should be: "Constant thought and timely action." There is no virtue in action in itself; but there is always virtue in thought.

... LETTERS ...

Conscription of Children

THE news that Mr. Bevin may conscript children of 16 for the mines is on a par with the sentence of life imprisonment imposed on a Jehovah's Witness in California for refusing to salute the USA flag. Together with the bombing of Rome (which shows that no city is now safe from aerial barbarism), it indicates to what an extent the Allies have accepted Nazi standards in trying to overcome Nazi-ism by war.

That the conscription of children for mines may be in mining districts does not affect the issue. There is no reason to suppose that Mr. Bevin may not extend it later to all boys of 16, or even to girls. It seems ominously significant that children under 16 now have different identity cards from children over 16. Apparently children over 16 are to be classed with adults where military and industrial slavery are concerned.

This enslavement of children should revolt every decent-minded adult as much as the starving of the children of Europe. I sincerely hope the PPU will protest publicly and work for the withdrawal of this reactionary measure. Otherwise, with every other silent organization and individual, it will lay itself open to the reproach of Jesus: "Inasmuch as ye did it not to the least of these my brethren, ye did it not to me."

RONALD S. MALLONE

(Editor, The Christian Party News-Letter)

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Pacifist Witness

I can only grieve at the recent criticism of pacifists of one persuasion by those of another. Let the absolutist support his fellow-pacifist on the land or in civil defence, and the alternative strengthen the absolutist in his stand, for criticism will not alter our convictions.

Where would the Commandos be without the Engineers, or either of them without the Pay Corps? Can the eye say to the foot I have no need of you? Can one sincere pacifist undervalue another? As the Army is one, and the body one, let us too be one in sympathy, encouragement, and love, not hiding our differences but gaining strength from them. For in a unity which understands and includes those differences, shall we find life.

JOAN F. LAYTON

Russell Chambers, W.C.2.

Mr. Barraclough is very pessimistic, and this is to his credit, as it shows a genuine desire to be what he proclaims himself.

My view is that you cannot be a complete

pacifist during a war, any more than a socialist can be what he advocates while he lives in a capitalist society. Contact must be made between the realm of ideas and that of bread-and-butter.

The unconditionalist, like the exemptionist, has demands made on him to fire-watch, to work at tasks which inevitably help the war effort, and, worst of all, to take the place of a man called up.

With regard to pacifist witness the test is: whether unconditional or not, are you known as a pacifist, do you explain by word and action what you stand for? (I think it would help if every CO sat down and considered the latter.)

When it comes to bread-and-butter the pacifist, if willing to work, is entitled to sufficient money to supply the main needs of life and should, I think, associate himself with others through a trade union, in improving the lot of those with whom he works.

F. J. PETHICK

73 Pepys Rd., London, S.E.14.

After 3 years on the land I agree entirely with the premise of F. A. Barraclough that about 80 per cent. of the COs so engaged are remarkable only for their lack of a sense of responsibility to the community in general and the pacifist cause in particular. I also have frequently been ashamed to be associated with them, and have seen the consequent deterioration of the public opinion of pacifists in general.

At the same time I disagree entirely with your correspondent's conclusion. I do not see exactly how personal irresponsibility on the part of CO land-workers proves that their position is illogical. Personal irresponsibility is a personal failing. It is the curse of the PPU and the whole pacifist movement. But does that prove that the entire pacifist position is illogical and wrong?

Is the case not rather this?—Every point at which modern war may be resisted has its own inherent difficulties and inconsistencies. If any fresh evidence is needed, see Mr. Morrison's statement on fire-watching quoted in your same issue. In effect he says, "We will allow COs to refuse to be compelled to do fire-watching provided that they do it voluntarily." I do not wish to develop my theme into a "hobby-horse," but I do feel very strongly that, whatever a CO's position with regard to exemption from military service, his most important contributions to a world at war should be a strong sense of personal responsibility and a code of personal action which is not a disgrace to the very name of the pacifism which he professes.

A. W. PAGE

Middledown, Chivelstone, Kingsbridge, S. Devon.

Owing to the large number of claims on our severely limited space, correspondents are urged to keep their letters very brief, and preferably under 250 words.

THE basis of the Peace Pledge Union is the following pledge which is signed by each member:

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER.

The address to which new signatures of the pledge should be sent, and from which further particulars may be obtained is:

★ PPU HEADQUARTERS, ★

Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

The Development Secretary Reports

WHEN I wrote in this column early in June I was rather over-optimistic about the rate at which money was coming in for the Notting-ham Scheme. Since then the Treasurers have presented their income and expenditure account for the first six months of the year showing receipts from Areas of £769 as against £1,040 hoped for in the Treasurer's assessment.

The amount raised, while somewhat disappointing, does show commendable zeal on the part of almost all our Areas. I hope that greater efforts will be made in the second half of the year to raise the expected assessment.

I know that many Areas have large cash balances in hand and I hope that if they have no immediate use for this money they will see that it reaches Headquarters as soon as possible.

Many members find it difficult to attend regular weekly meetings, in these days, and some groups have discovered that they can obtain better attendances if meetings are not held too frequently.

For instance, members in country districts will make a special effort, and put themselves to considerable inconvenience, in order to attend a monthly meeting, whereas the very nature of their work often precludes them from making such an arrangement each week. It may be something of this feeling of making a special effort which accounts for the success of the many weekend schools of which Areas send me reports.

Western Area started the ball rolling when Wilfred Wellock paid them a visit early in the year. On June 5-6 Frank Dawtry spoke on "Crime and the Community: Past, Present, and Future" for the West Midlands Area, at Barrow Hill Hall, Uttoxeter. The following weekend there was a well attended school, organized by the Southern Area, at Cheese-combe Farm, Hawkey. At this school Frank Lea spoke about the social philosophies of Carlyle and Shelley, while Joe Watson laid emphasis on the quality of Charity, which has nothing in common with the search for security epitomised in the Beveridge scheme. On July 3-4 a school was held under the auspices of the Merseyside Region at Hales Farm, Ormskirk when Mr. E. J. A. Williams, R.A., spoke on "A Pacifist Interpretation of History, 1918-1939." The following weekend the Birmingham Region arranged a school, with George L. Davies, at Somerset Road, Birmingham. I have also received a report of a weekend conference on the subject of Armistice, at which Harry Hilditch spoke to the Huddersfield Group. The West Midlands Area have arranged another school at Bewdley Guest House, on October 16-17, when Harold Bing will be the speaker.

You may remember that, early in March, I mentioned that an officer serving in the Forces sent £25 to one of our groups, to help with their social service activities. Although this officer is now stationed in North Africa he thinks his friends in the group are worth trusting with further regular donations of £5. Would your group inspire a non-member, not to mention an officer in the Forces, with such generosity?

A new group has been established, at Holmes Chapel, as a result of the activities of our Contact Member, and a new Contact Member added to our list, at Walkden. The addresses are: Mr. J. Pritchard, 8 Macclesfield Rd., Holmes Chapel, Crewe; and Mr. J. Pennington, 45 Chestnut Ave., Walkden.

Albert E. Tomlinson

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FAMINE

THE difficulties of collecting reliable information about the effects of undernourishment in occupied Europe were underlined in another Parliamentary exchange with Mr. Dingle Foot, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Economic Warfare on July 20. In answer to Mr. Stokes' request for "the mortality rate per 1,000 amongst children in Belgium between the ages of one and five years" for each of the past four years, Mr. Foot said: "I regret that separate statistics for children between the ages of 1 and 5 years are not available."

As recently as July 8 Mr. Foot referred to figures—presumably emanating from Axis-controlled sources—showing that the infantile mortality figure (that is, of children up to one year) has declined since 1940. It is particularly unfortunate that this is the only age group for which comparative figures are vouchsafed, since it is generally known that milk is only available for the youngest infants in Belgium, and that therefore the effects of present privations will be felt least among this class.

According to the Stationery Office publication "Rationing Under Axis Rule" "the deficit of essential food-stuffs is 60 per cent. in the case of adults and adolescents" in Belgium "below the standard prescribed by medical science." The same report states that tuberculosis "has now doubled again" in certain towns. It can hardly be claimed that the situation has improved since the publication of this document; nor is it tenable that young children are unaffected by these severe deficiencies.

A full statement of vital statistics for Belgium, analysed by age-groups and in fatal disease incidence ought to be obtainable from the source where Mr. Foot obtained infantile mortality statistics.

ARMISTICE CAMPAIGN

The leaflet "Will Victory Ensure Peace?" (a revised version of Sybil Morrison's recent article in Peace News) is now available from the PPU for use in connexion with the Armistice Campaign. (Price 1s. 6d. per 100, postage extra.)

An open-air meeting on "Armistice" will be held by the PPU London Area on Tower Hill from 12.30 p.m. onwards on Monday next (Aug. 9). The speakers will be Sybil Morrison and Donald Port; pacifists working in the City who can attend are urged to do so.

Open-air meetings on "Negotiation versus Unconditional Surrender" are held regularly on Streatham Common (Sundays, 7.30 p.m.), and Wimbledon Common (Sundays, 7 p.m.) and in Hyde Park (Wednesdays, 6.15 p.m. and Sundays, 3 p.m.).

EVIDENCE WANTED

Following the Home Secretary's denial (in a Parliamentary reply July 15) that people in prison cannot get a tooth extracted unless they are prepared to pay 2s. 6d. out of their own private funds, the Prison Medical Reform Council (12 West Park, London, S.E.9) is anxious to make immediate contact with COs who, from their own experience can refute this denial, in order that the matter may again be raised in Parliament.

ONE YEAR OF STRUGGLE

MEETINGS TO COMMEMORATE THE ARREST OF CONGRESS LEADERS IN INDIA, AUGUST 9th, 1943.

Saturday, August 7th

Bromley High Street, 3 p.m.
Croydon, Katherine Street, 3 p.m.
Lewisham, opp. Catford Town Hall, 3.30 p.m.
Wood Green, Spouters' Corner, 7 p.m.
Peckham Rye, 7.30 p.m.

Sunday, August 8th

HYDE PARK, Two platforms
2.30—9.30 p.m.
Hanley Market Place (nr. Stoke-on-Trent) 8 p.m.

INDIAN FREEDOM CAMPAIGN

FOURTH COURT MARTIAL: 2-YEAR SENTENCE Worst 'Cat & Mouse' Case

BY sentencing him to two years detention, the court-martial before which Stanley Hilton appeared on Jul. 26 has not only imposed the maximum possible penalty but has deprived him of the right to have his case reviewed by the Appellate Tribunal—to which he would have been entitled if he had been given imprisonment for as little as three months.

The case is the worst instance of "cat-and-mouse" treatment of a CO in this war.

It was the fourth court-martial before which Stanley Hilton, a 26-year-old Jehovah's Witness, had appeared. Appearing for him was David R. Brayshaw, a Sheffield solicitor. Fenner Brockway, chairman of the Central Board for COs, gave evidence.

Energetic action is being taken by the CBCO, which asks Peace News readers and pacifist groups to take up the case with their MPs and with the Secretary of State for War, Whitehall, London, S.W.1, urging that this latest sentence upon Stanley Hilton be remitted, and that he be discharged from the Army having by his action for two and three-quarter years proved the depth of his conscientious convictions and his undoubted sincerity.

The latest sentence will be served in military detention barracks unless the War Office can be prevailed upon to remit the sentence altogether. Last Friday it was learned that Stanley Hilton was in the detention barracks at Riddrie, Glasgow.

Another Jehovah's Witness, Ernest B. Wotton, of Salisbury, has been released from Winchester prison by order of the Home Secretary after he had petitioned the Home Office (according to the Daily Express, Jul. 30). He was sentenced to 3 months' imprisonment at Salisbury on Jul. 12 for failing to fire-watch.

THE expulsion by the National Deposit Friendly Society of a member who was a CO was raised by Mr. Rhys Davies on the motion for the adjournment in the Commons on Jul. 16. (The matter had already, as reported in PN, been the subject of a question in the House).

Mr. Rhys Davies said that "out of 6,000-odd approved societies in this country, this is the only one, as far as I know, to adopt this policy." In

"Victimization"

"WE commend to the attention of Parliament the case of the 'Jehovah's Witness,' Stanley Hilton, who has just been sentenced to detention for the fourth time for failure to obey a military order.

"Hilton has already spent nearly three years in gaol, and has now been ordered another two years' confinement—each time for precisely the same offence.

"He has failed to convince Appeals Tribunals of the sincerity of his views. But it is hard to see what more convincing evidence he could bring than willingness to accept the hardships of years of prison life in preference to dictation from a source which his conscience refuses to recognize.

"This is too much like victimization to be palatable. In the last war public opinion was revolted by the 'cat and mouse' treatment of conscientious objectors. 'Anything in the nature of persecution, victimization, and man-hunting is odious to the British people.' The Government would do well to ponder this dictum. It is one of the many wise sayings of Mr. Winston Churchill." —News Chronicle leading article, July 30.

reply, Miss Horsbrugh, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Health, explained that the approved society had the permissive right, under its rules "to expel any member who has been imprisoned for any crime."

"It is not suggested that it is a crime to be a conscientious objector," she said later. "The crime is that the man refused to be medically examined and went to prison. It is the refusal to be medically examined which is the offence and not that he is a conscientious objector."

When Mr. James Griffiths asked whether there was any appeal against the decision of a referee in such a case, Miss Horsbrugh replied that there was not, adding: "I am not saying whether this was a wise decision or not, but it is clear that the society has not gone beyond what it had the right to do."

In the report last week of Roy Walker's appearance before the London Appellate Tribunal it was stated that he asked for unconditional registration. We are asked by the CBCO (from whom we received the report) to say that this was not correct: he made no plea.

LETTERS (continued)

Cologne Cathedral

As one who knows this great building very intimately, and whose interest in it is both aesthetic and architectural, perhaps I may be permitted to make a few comments upon Vera Brittain's letter in your issue of Jul. 16.

The dates of commencement and completion given in the extract from the Catholic Herald are correct. The unique feature of Cologne Cathedral is that, though it took over 600 years to build, it was completed in accordance with the original plans. Hence, instead of being—as is usual—a mixture of architectural styles, it is absolutely homogeneous—pure Gothic of the best period.

The usual architectural criticisms of the cathedral are:

(1) That the design was not altogether original, much of it being based on that of Amiens Cathedral.

(2) That the enormous height of the nave (about double that of Westminster Abbey) is disproportionate to the area of the building.

(3) That the great twin Western towers (512 feet high) dwarf the rest of the building.

Even admitting the justice of these criticisms, Cologne Cathedral is, in my humble opinion, the finest expression of the Gothic idea—that of restless aspiration to the highest. I know nothing so imposing and awe-inspiring as the West front of Cologne, and the soaring arch at the West end of the nave is—or was—to me the most beautiful man-made thing I have ever seen.

MAURICE A. SMITH
"Endsleigh," Harborough Rd., Northampton.

Vera Brittain is perplexed about the value of Cologne Cathedral as an ancient monument. In my opinion the truth lies somewhere between the two statements she quotes. In the correspondence of Baron Banse with his friend King Frederick William IV of Prussia (1840-1841) there is evidence that the plans to complete the unfinished Cathedral aroused the liveliest interest and participation of this pious romantic whose reign was politically so disastrous for Russia and Germany.

It is, I believe, a fact that iron or steel girders were used in the new part of the fabric.

I have long regarded the neighbouring early Romanesque church of S. Maria in Capitol, now seriously damaged, as a Christian shrine of greater interest than the Gothic Cathedral which towers above it.

JOHN STURGE STEPHENS
The Deanery, Ledbury, Herefordshire.

Service Unit's Need

Following upon the advertisement in your columns for "standing-by" assistance for the Relief Service Unit (Poplar), I would bring to the notice of your readers the very great urgency of this work and the fact that since the advertisement was submitted we have been called out for duty. If any person feels able to volunteer for part-time duty on one evening each week, the offer will be most gratefully received. Particulars may be obtained from the Secretary.

JOHN A. WHITTAKER
Chairman

PSU (Poplar), Plimsoll St., E.14.

When settling accounts with Peace News (whether for supplies or advertisements) please do not use postage stamps for payment, except for odd pence up to sixpence. Postal orders and cheques facilitate book-keeping and banking. Do NOT send CASH.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

PERSONAL

CLEMENT—to Gerry and Peggy a son (Robin Gillan) on Jun. 30, 1943, at Holly Mount private Nursing Home, Marple. Both well. New address: 7 Ingle Drive, Offerton, Stockport.

CONTACT CORRESPONDENCE CLUB. A satisfactory medium for those desiring congenial pen-friendships. Particulars, stamp, Sec., PN, 19 Ty Fry Gardens, Rumney, Cardiff.

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SITUATIONS VACANT

ADELPHI DANCE COMPANY urgently requires stage manager, September. Experience preferred but not essential if adaptable and enthusiastic. Knowledge electricity and simple carpentry useful. Further details from Secretary, 41 Kingsway, East Sheen, S.W.14.

ADVERTISING AGENCY requires young boy or girl to help in office and learn business. Commencing 25s. per week. Drawing ability an asset. Write stating age to: D.T.V., 163 Queen Victoria St., E.C.4.

C.O.s WISHING to do social service in the London area in exchange for keep and 15s. pocket-money are invited to apply to the Warden, Dick Sheppard Club, 254 Harrow Rd., W.2.

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FOR ALL properties to be let or sold in N.W. London and Districts, apply to McCraith and Brooks, Auctioneers and Surveyors, 44 Market Place, N.W.11. (Speedwell 9888, 8 lines), who will give special attention to the requirements of pacifists.

URGENT: young C.O. couple require to rent, unfurnished house or flat, London or Middlesex. Ross, 14 Stamford Brook Mansions, W.6.

WANTED URGENTLY: flat or house in North London, Middlesex, or Herts., by Bill and Olive Grindlay, 10 Raeburn Close, N.W.11.

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SITUATIONS & WORK WANTED

CAN ANYONE OFFER C.O. land work (preferably market-garden) in October? Some tractor and other experience, but no Samson. Box 1014 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

CHRISTIAN PACIFIST, 25, married, child 4 months, seeks social-educational post September. B.A. (Hons.) French, teaching diploma, two years' experience warden refugee hostel. At present teaching prep. school Post to be of real service society, preferably permanent. Box 998 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

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C.O., 32, married, experience kitchen garden, milking cows, poultry, goats. Tractor and car driver. Carpenter. Seeks work running smallholding for sleeping partner or situation similar or as assistant on small farm. Page, Tolleshunt Knights, Essex.

C.O. (39) conditional exemption, foreman carpenter and joiner, requires any kind of carpentry work; excellent tradesman, 25 years in trade. Permanent position in country district preferred or estate work. Box 1016 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

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